

be remuneration. We are told that we are to be paid in "blood and treasure," the blood shed on the plains of Virginia and elsewhere, where these great battles have been fought, and the carnage that has taken place, adding mockery to insult.

It is ruinous, not only to us, as it takes away our property, but ruinous to the slaves themselves. I will not use hard terms, but I will ask what is to become of them? I have a house erected for an old faithful servant. I have women and children, as much requiring constant outlay and expense to sustain them, as it does to sustain myself. How are they to be sustained? Am I not only to be deprived of my property of value, but am I to be further charged with this other property of no value, and must I daily, hourly, incur further expense for them? Is there justice—is there honesty in this? Is it fair dealing, which any man, in his private character, would venture to engage in, and subject himself to the imputations of want of integrity which would be heaped upon him if he did engage in it?

I am unwilling to enlarge upon this topic, fruitful as it is of remark. I repeat that it is more ruinous to the slave even than to the master. I have known large families, consisting of thirty or forty negroes, to be manumitted at a blow, in a court of justice. In a very few years, I have seen the last remaining member of that concern, the rest being either dead on the dunghill or confined in the penitentiary for crime. They are degraded in point of intellect; they are uninformed as to the means of self-protection, and incapable of making provision for the future. They are turned loose without means even of present subsistence; and for no purpose on earth, and without any honest expectation on the part of those who are to turn them loose, that any other consequence will follow than further degradation, the perpetration of further crime and every sort of vice. The necessary consequence will be the same fate that has awaited the red man upon our border, final extirpation as a nuisance intolerable in any community of which white men are members.

I say that no good reason has been given for it. It is a stretch of power, and a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Constitution. It is a measure of injustice and injury to the slaves. The only excuse given is the condition of the country and the suppression of the rebellion. I deny that there is any foundation for an argument upon that subject. If the government of the United States wants them, they are more likely to get them now than if you manumit the few remaining able men in slavery. Their masters now have no motive to do anything else with them than to put them into the army. Only yesterday I was told by a gentleman who came from the District of Columbia, that there are thousands of negroes there, who are fugitives from the

different counties to avoid enlistment, to avoid the draft. The able-bodied men are nearly all gone. What few there are, are no more likely to go, or to be useful should they go.

But you manumit not only those who are competent to assist the Government as soldiers, but the feeble, the aged, the incompetent, the women and children, who can be of no service, and they all flock to the Government and demand support from them. That is the experience of those who have already gone off, and why should it not be the experience of those yet to go off? The same motive operates on them, and why should not their conduct be the same? You then increase the expenditures of the Government—God knows they are large enough now. There is no necessity, and you certainly do not benefit them. But you require a much larger outlay of money, a much larger issue of paper, now depreciated, I think, to something like two hundred for one hundred in gold. You cannot certainly benefit the Government by a process which creates a very heavy burden and adds nothing to its military force.

In no sense can I conceive how this act can be justified upon the necessity of aiding the Government to crush the rebellion. Yet I have heard no other reason assigned, no other argument urged for the passage of this very iniquitous article proposed to be inserted in the bill of rights.

Sir, I say again, that I believe these people will follow the fate of the Indians. Two such different races cannot mingle as equals. Experience has taught that all over the world, and has never failed to teach us here. It has been perfectly understood by the best and wisest men of our country, and I think all future experience will further confirm and fortify it.

As to all these appeals to popular feeling which have been made in reference to this argument, of the bad character of the insurgent traitors—I do not mean to make any excuse for these men—I can only say, as I said early in the session, that I think this is neither the time nor the place, either for making any appeal in favor of the Government on the one hand, or in denunciation of the rebellious portion of the Union on the other. We came here to make a law, a constitution, to create a government. I think our great duty is to make the Government, meaning thereby a system which shall protect us by preserving, and not by destroying our property; by securing and not by defeating or violating our personal liberty; by securing to us all the legitimate objects for which governments are instituted. I submit to my friends whether they think they are acting in the course of their appropriate duty when they are passing their time in commendation of General Grant or anybody else, or in any other way, to the neglect of the duty which is demanded of